A

TREATY

HELD WITH THE

OHIO INDIANS,

AT

CARLISLE,

In OCTOBER, 1753.

PHILADELPHIA:

Printed and Sold by B. FRANKLIN, and D. HALL, at the *New-Printing-Office*, near the Market. MDCCLIII.

A

TREATY

HELD WITH THE

OHIO INDIANS,

AT

CARLISLE,

In OCTOBER, 1753.

RPJCB

A

TREATY, &c.

To the Honourable JAMES HAMILTON, *Esq*; *Lieutenant-Governor, and Commander in Chief, of the Province of* Pennsylvania, *and Counties of* New-Castle, Kent *and* Sussex, *upon* Delaware,

The REPORT of RICHARD PETERS, ISAAC NORRIS, *and* BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, *Esquires, Commissioners appointed to treat with some Chiefs of the* Ohio Indians, *at* Carlisle, *in the County of* Cumberland, *by a Commission, bearing Date the* 22*d Day of* September, 1753.

May it please the GOVERNOR,

NOT knowing but the *Indians* might be waiting at *Carlisle*, we made all the Dispatch possible, as soon as we had received our Commission, and arrived there on the Twenty-sixth, but were agreeably surprized to find that they came there only that Day. 1753.

IMMEDIATELY on our Arrival we conferred with *Andrew Montour*, and *George Croghan*, in order to know from them what had occasioned the present coming of the *Indians*, that we might, by their Intelligence, regulate our first Intercourse with them; and were informed, that tho' their principal Design, when they left *Ohio*, was to hold a Treaty with the Government of *Virginia*, at *Winchester*, where they had accordingly been; yet they intended a Visit to this Province, to which they had been frequently encouraged by *Andrew Montour*, who told them, he had the Governor's repeated Orders to invite them to come and see him, and assured them of an hearty Welcome; and that they had moreover some important Matters to propose and transact with this Government.

THE Commissioners finding this to be the Case, and that these *Indians* were some of the most considerable Persons of the *Six Nations*, *Delawares*, *Shawonese*, with Deputies from the *Twightwees*, and *Owendaets*, met them in Council, in which the Commissioners declared the Contents of their Commission, acknowledged the Governor's Invitation, and bid them heartily welcome among their Brethren of *Pennsylvania*, to whom their Visit was extremely agreeable.---*Conrad Weiser* and *Andrew Montour* interpreting between the Commissioners and *Indians*, and several Magistrates, and others, of the principal Inhabitants of the County, favouring them with their Presence.

THE *Twightwees* and *Delawares* having had several of their great Men cut off by the *French* and their *Indians*, and all the Chiefs of the *Owendaets* being lately dead, it became necessary to condole their Loss; and no Business could be begun, agreeable to the *Indian* Customs, till the Condolances were passed; and as these could not be made, with the usual Ceremonies, for want of the Goods, which were not arrived, and it was uncertain when they would, the Commissioners were put to some Difficulties, and ordered the Interpreters to apply to *Scarrooyady*, an *Oneido* Chief, who had the Conduct of the Treaty in *Virginia*, and was a Person of great Weight in their Councils, and to ask his Opinion, whether the Condolances would be accepted by Belts and Strings, and Lists of the particular Goods intended to be given, with Assurances of their Delivery as soon as they should come. *Scarrooyady* was pleased with the Application; but frankly declared, that the *Indians* could not proceed to Business while the Blood remained on their Garments, and that the Condolances could not be accepted unless the Goods, intended to cover the Graves, were actually spread on the Ground before them. A Messenger was therefore forthwith sent to meet and hasten the Waggoners, since every Thing must stop till the Goods came.

IT was then agreed to confer with *Scarrooyady*, and some other of the Chiefs of the *Shawonese* and *Delawares*, on the State of Affairs at *Ohio*, and from them the Commissioners learned, in sundry Conferences, the following Particulars, *viz.*

" THAT when the Governor of *Pennsylvania*'s Express arrived at *Ohio*, with the Account of the March of a large *French* Army to the Heads of *Ohio*, with Intent to take Possession of that Country, it alarmed the *Indians* so much, that the *Delawares*, at *Weningo*, an *Indian* Town, situate high up on *Ohio* River, went, agreeable to a Custom established among the *Indians*, and forbad, by a formal Notice, the Commander of that Armament, then advanced to the *Straits*, between Lake *Ontario* and Lake *Erie*, to continue his March, at least not to presume to come farther than *Niagara*: This had

not

1753. not however any Effect, but, notwithſtanding this Notice, the *French* continued their March; which, being afterwards taken into Conſideration by the Council, at *Logs-Town*, they ordered ſome of their principal *Indians* to give the *French* a ſecond Notice to leave their Country, and return Home; who meeting them on a River running into Lake *Erie*, a little above *Weningo*, addreſſed the Commander in theſe Words:

The ſecond Notice delivered to the Commander of the French *Army, then near* Weningo.

Father Onontio,

YOUR Children on *Ohio* are alarmed to hear of your coming ſo far this Way. We at firſt heard you came to deſtroy us; our Women left off planting, and our Warriors prepared for War. We have ſince heard you came to viſit us as Friends, without Deſign to hurt us; but then we wondered you came with ſo ſtrong a Body. If you have had any Cauſe of Complaint, you might have ſpoke to *Onas*, or *Corlaer* (meaning the Governors of *Pennſylvania*, and *New-York*) and not come to diſturb us here. We have a Fire at *Logs-Town*, where are the *Delawares*, and *Shawoneſe*, and Brother *Onas*; you might have ſent Deputies there, and ſaid openly what you came about, if you had thought amiſs of the *Engliſh* being there; and we invite you to do it now, before you proceed any further.

The French *Officer's Anſwer.*

Children,

I FIND you come to give me an Invitation to your Council Fire, with a Deſign, as I ſuppoſe, to call me to Account for coming here. I muſt let you know that my Heart is good to you; I mean no Hurt to you; I am come by the great King's Command, to do you, my Children, Good. You ſeem to think I carry my Hatchet under my Coat; I always carry it openly, not to ſtrike you, but thoſe that ſhall oppoſe me. I cannot come to your Council Fire, nor can I return, or ſtay here; I am ſo heavy a Body that the Stream will carry me down, and down I ſhall go, unleſs you pull off my Arm: But this I will tell you, I am commanded to build four ſtrong Houſes, *viz.* at *Weningo*, *Mohongialo Forks*, *Logs-Town*, and *Beaver Creek*, and this I will do. As to what concerns *Onas*, and *Aſſaragoa* (meaning the Governors of *Pennſylvania* and *Virginia*) I have ſpoke to them, and let them know they muſt go off the Land, and I ſhall ſpeak to them again; if they will not hear me, it is their Fault, I will take them by the Arm, and throw them over the Hills. All the Land and Waters on this Side *Allegheny* Hills are mine, on the other Side theirs; this is agreed on between the two Crowns over the great Waters. I do not like your ſelling your Lands to the *Engliſh*; they ſhall draw you into no more fooliſh Bargains. I will take Care of your Lands for you, and of you. The *Engliſh* give you no Goods but for Land, we give you our Goods for nothing."

WE were further told by *Scarrooyady*, that when the Anſwer to this Meſſage was brought to *Logs-Town*, another Council was held, conſiſting of the *Six Nations*, *Delawares*, and *Shawoneſe*, who unanimouſly agreed to divide themſelves into two Parties, one to go to *Virginia*, and *Pennſylvania*, with *Scarrooyady*, and the other to go with the *Half King* to the *French* Commander, who had it in Charge to make the following Declaration, as their third and laſt Notice.

The third Notice, delivered by the Half King *to the Commander of the* French *Forces.*

Father,

YOU ſay you cannot come to our Council Fire at *Logs-Town*, we therefore now come to you, to know what is in your Heart. You remember when you were tired with the War (meaning Queen *Anne*'s War) you of your own Accord ſent for us, deſiring to make Peace with us; when we came, you ſaid to us, Children, we make a Council Fire for you; we want to talk with you, but we muſt firſt eat all with one Spoon out of this Silver Bowl, and all drink out of this Silver Cup; let us exchange Hatchets; let us bury our Hatchets in this bottomleſs Hole; and now we will make a plain Road to all your Countries, ſo clear, that *Onontio* may ſit here and ſee you all eat and drink out of the Bowl and Cup, which he has provided for you. Upon this Application of yours we conſented to make Peace; and when the Peace was concluded on both Sides, you made a ſolemn Declaration, ſaying, Whoever ſhall hereafter tranſgreſs this Peace, let the Tranſgreſſor be chaſtiſed with a Rod, even tho' it be I, your Father.

Now, Father, notwithſtanding this ſolemn Declaration of yours, you have whipped ſeveral of your Children; you know beſt why. Of late you have chaſtiſed the *Twightwees* very ſeverely, without telling us the Reaſon; and now you are come with a ſtrong Band on our Land, and have, contrary to your Engagement, taken up the Hatchet without any previous Parley. Theſe Things are a Breach of the Peace; they are contrary to your own Declarations: Therefore, now I come to forbid you. I will ſtrike over all this Land with my Rod, let it hurt who it will. I tell you, in plain Words, you muſt go off this Land. You ſay you have a ſtrong Body, a ſtrong Neck, and a ſtrong Voice, that when you ſpeak all the *Indians* muſt hear you. It is true, you are a ſtrong Body, and ours is but weak, yet we are not afraid of you. We forbid you to come any further; turn back to the Place from whence you came.

SCARROOYADY, who was the Speaker in theſe Conferences, when he had finiſhed this Relation, gave his Reaſon for ſetting forth theſe three Meſſages to the *French* in ſo diſtinct a Manner; becauſe, ſaid he, the Great Being who lives above, has ordered us to ſend three Meſſages of Peace before we make War:---And as the *Half King* has, before this Time, delivered the third and laſt Meſſage, we have nothing now to do but to ſtrike the *French*.

THE

THE Commiſſioners were likewiſe informed, by Mr. *Croghan*, that the *Ohio Indians* had received from the *Virginia* Government a large Number of Arms in the Spring, and that at their preſſing Inſtances a ſuitable Quantity of Ammunition was ordered in the Treaty at *Wincheſter* to be lodged for them, in a Place of Security, on this Side the *Ohio*, which was committed to the Care of three Perſons, *viz.* *Gueſt*, *William Trent*, and *Andrew Montour*, who were impowered to diſtribute them to the *Indians* as their Occaſions and Behaviour ſhould require. That all the Tribes ſettled at or near *Allegheny* would take their Meaſures from the Encouragement which theſe *Indians* ſhould find in the Province of *Virginia*; and that the kind Intentions of this Government in the Appropriation of a large Sum of Money for the Uſe of theſe *Indians*, in caſe they ſhould be diſtreſſed by their Enemies, and their Hunting and Planting prevented, were well known to them by the repeated Informations of *Andrew Montour* and the Traders. 1753.

CONRAD WEISER, to whom it was earneſtly recommended by the Commiſſioners, to procure all the Information poſſible from the *Indians* of his Acquaintance, touching their Condition and Diſpoſition, and the real Deſigns of the *French*, did likewiſe acquaint us, that all Perſons at *Ohio* would have their Eyes on the Reception of thoſe *Indians*, now at *Carliſle*, and judge of the Affection of this Province by their Treatment of them; and that as the intended Preſent was no Secret to thoſe *Indians*, it was his Opinion, that the Whole ſhould, at this Time, be diſtributed; for if any Thing can, ſuch a generous Donation muſt needs attach the *Indians* entirely to the *Engliſh*.

THESE ſeveral Matters being taken into Conſideration by the Commiſſioners, and the Governor having given them expreſs Directions to accommodate themſelves to the Circumſtances of the *Indians*, as they ſhould appear in examining them at the Place of Treaty, we were unanimouſly of Opinion, that an Addition ſhould be made to the Goods bought at *Philadelphia*, in which a Regard ſhould be had to ſuch Articles as were omitted or ſupplied in leſs Quantities than was ſuitable to the preſent Wants of the *Indians*. On this Reſolution the Liſts of Goods were examined, and an additional Quantity bought of *John Carſon*, at the *Philadelphia* Price, and uſual Rate of Carriage.

DURING theſe Conſultations, it was rumoured that the *Half King* was returned to *Logs-Town*, and had received an unſatisfactory Anſwer, which was confirmed, but not in ſuch Manner as could be poſitively relied on, by a Brother of *Andrew Montour*, and another Perſon who came directly from *Allegheny*. This alarmed the Commiſſioners, and made them willing to poſtpone Buſineſs till they ſhould know the Certainty thereof, judging, that if the *Half King* was returned, he would certainly ſend a Meſſenger Expreſs to *Carliſle*, with an Account of what was done by him; and from this the Commiſſioners might take their Meaſures in the Diſtribution of the Preſent.

A LETTER, wrote by *Taaf*, and *Callender*, two *Indian* Traders, dated the Twenty-eighth Day of *September*, from a Place ſituate a little on this Side *Allegheny* River, directed to *William Buchanan*, was given him the Morning of the firſt Day of *October*, and he immediately laid it before the Commiſſioners for their Peruſal. In this Letter an Account is given, that the *Half King* was returned, and had been received in a very contemptuous Manner by the *French* Commander, who was then preparing with his Forces to come down the River; and that the *Half King*, on his Return, ſhed Tears, and had actually warned the *Engliſh* Traders not to paſs the *Ohio*, nor to venture either their Perſons or their Goods, for the *French* would certainly hurt them. On this News the Conferences with *Scarrooyady*, and the Chiefs of the *Six Nations*, *Delawares*, and *Shawoneſe*, were renewed, and the Letter read to them, at which they appeared greatly alarmed; but, after a ſhort Pauſe, *Scarrooyady*, addreſſing himſelf to the *Delawares* and *Shawoneſe*, ſpoke in theſe Words:

Brethren and Couſins,

I LOOK on this Letter as if it had been a Meſſage from the *Half King* himſelf: We may expect no other Account of the Reſult of his Journey. However, I adviſe you to be ſtill, and neither ſay nor do any Thing till we get Home, and I ſee my Friend and Brother the *Half King*, and then we ſhall know what is to be done.

THE Forms of the Condolances, which depend entirely on *Indian* Cuſtoms, were ſettled in Conferences with *Scarrooyady*, and *Cayanguileguoa*, a ſenſible *Indian*, of the *Mohock* Nation, and a Perſon intimate with and much conſulted by *Scarrooyady*, in which it was agreed to take the *Six Nations* along with us in theſe Codolances; and accordingly the proper Belts and Strings were made ready, and *Scarrooyady* prepared himſelf to expreſs the Sentiments of both in the *Indian* Manner. And as the Goods arrived this Morning before Break of Day, the ſeveral Sorts uſed on theſe Occaſions were laid out; and the *Indians* were told that the Commiſſioners would ſpeak to them at Eleven a Clock.

At a Meeting of the Commiſſioners, and Indians, *at* Carliſle, *the firſt Day of* October, 1753.

P R E S E N T,

RICHARD PETERS, ISAAC NORRIS, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, } Eſquires, Commiſſioners.

The Deputies of the *Six Nations*, *Delawares*, *Shawoneſe*, *Twightwees*, and *Owendaets*.

CONRAD WEISER, ANDREW MONTOUR, } Interpreters. JAMES WRIGHT, JOHN ARMSTRONG, } Eſquires, Members of Aſſembly.

The Magiſtrates, and ſeveral other Gentlemen and Freeholders of the County of *Cumberland*.

The SPEECH *of the Commiſſioners.*

Brethren, *Six Nations*, *Delawares*, *Shawoneſe*, *Twightwees*, and *Owendaets*,

THOUGH the City of *Philadelphia* be the Place where all *Indians* ſhould go, who have Buſineſs to tranſact with this Government, yet at your Requeſt, ſignified to Colonel *Fairfax*, at *Wincheſter*, and by him communicated to our Governor, by an Expreſs to *Philadelphia*, he has been

 pleaſed

1753. pleaſed on this particular Occaſion to diſpenſe with your coming there, and has done us the Honour to depute us to receive and treat with you at this Town, in his Place and Stead; this is ſet forth in his Commiſſion, which we now produce to you, under the Great Seal of this Province, the authentick Sign and Teſtimony of all Acts of Government.

Brethren,

By this String we acquaint you, that the *Six Nations* do, at our Requeſt, join with us in condoling the Loſſes you have of late ſuſtained by the Deaths of ſeveral of your Chiefs and principal Men; and that *Scarrooyady* is to deliver for both what has been agreed to be ſaid on this melancholy Occaſion.

Here the Commiſſioners gave a String of Wampum.

Then Scarrooyady *ſpoke as follows:*

Brethren, the Twightwees *and* Shawoneſe,

It has pleaſed Him who is above, that we ſhall meet here To-day, and ſee one another; I and my Brother *Onas* join together to ſpeak to you. As we know that your Seats at Home are bloody, we wipe away the Blood, and ſet your Seats in Order at your Council Fire, that you may ſit and conſult again in Peace and Comfort as formerly; that you may hold the antient Union, and ſtrengthen it, and continue your old friendly Correſpondence.

Here a String was given.

Brethren, Twightwees, *and* Shawoneſe,

We ſuppoſe that the Blood is now waſhed off. We jointly, with our Brother *Onas*, dig a Grave for your Warriors, killed in your Country; and we bury their Bones decently; wrapping them up in theſe Blankets; and with theſe we cover their Graves.

Here the Goods were given to the Twightwees, *and* Shawoneſe.

Brethren, Twightwees, *and* Shawoneſe,

I, and my Brother *Onas*, jointly condole with the Chiefs of your Towns, your Women and Children, for the Loſs you have ſuſtained. We partake of your Grief, and mix our Tears with yours. We wipe your Tears from your Eyes, that you may ſee the Sun, and that every Thing may become clear and pleaſant to your Sight; and we deſire you would mourn no more.

Here a Belt was given.

The ſame was ſaid to the *Delawares*, *mutatis mutandis*.

And then he ſpoke to the *Owendaets*, in theſe Words:

Our Children, and Brethren, the Owendaets,

You have heard what I and my Brother *Onas* have jointly ſaid to the *Twightwees*, *Shawoneſe*, and *Delawares*: We now come to ſpeak to you. We are informed that your good old wiſe Men are all dead, and you have no more left.

We muſt let you know, that there was a Friendſhip eſtabliſhed by our and your Grandfathers; and a mutual Council Fire was kindled. In this Friendſhip all thoſe then under the Ground, who had not yet obtained Eyes or Faces (that is, thoſe unborn) were included; and it was then mutually promiſed to tell the ſame to their Children, and Childrens Children: But ſo many great Men of your Nation have died in ſo ſhort a Time, that none but Youths are left; and this makes us afraid, leſt that Treaty, ſo ſolemnly eſtabliſhed by your Anceſtors, ſhould be forgotten by you: We therefore now come to remind you of it, and renew it; we re-kindle the old Fire, and put on freſh Fuel.

Here a String was given.

The other Speeches, of burying the Dead, *&c.* were the ſame as thoſe to the *Twightwees*, &c.

After each had been ſpoken to, *Scarrooyady* proceeded thus:

Brethren, Delawares, Shawoneſe, Twightwees, *and* Owendaets,

We, the *Engliſh*, and *Six Nations*, do now exhort every one of you to do your utmoſt to preſerve this Union and Friendſhip, which has ſo long and happily continued among us: Let us keep the Chain from ruſting, and prevent every Thing that may hurt or break it, from what Quarter ſoever it may come.

Then the Goods allotted for each Nation, as a Peſent of Condolance, were taken away by each, and the Council adjourn'd to the next Day.

At a Meeting of the Commiſſioners, and Indians, *at* Carliſle, *the 2d of* October, 1753.

PRESENT,

The Commiſſioners, The ſame *Indians* as Yeſterday,
The Magiſtrates, and ſeveral Gentlemen of the County.

The Speech *of the Commiſſioners.*

Brethren, Six Nations, Delawares, Shawoneſe, Twightwees, *and* Owendaets,

NOW that your Hearts are eaſed of their Grief, and we behold one another with chearful Countenances, we let you know that the Governor, and good People of *Pennſylvania*, did not ſend us to receive you empty-handed; but put ſomething into our Pockets, to be given to ſuch as ſhould favour

favour us with this friendly Viſit: Theſe Goods we therefore requeſt you would accept of, and divide amongſt all that are of your Company, in ſuch Proportions as ſhall be agreeable to you. You know how to do this better than we. What we principally deſire, is, that you will conſider this Preſent as a Token of our cordial Eſteem for you; and uſe it with a Frugality becoming your Circumſtances, which call at this Time for more than ordinary Care. 1753.

Brethren,

With Pleaſure we behold here the Deputies of five different Nations, *viz.* the *United Six Nations*, the *Delawares*, the *Shawoneſe*, the *Twightwees*, and the *Owendaets*. Be pleaſed to caſt your Eyes towards this Belt, whereon ſix Figures are delineated, holding one another by the Hands. This is a juſt Reſemblance of our preſent Union: The five firſt Figures repreſenting the five Nations, to which you belong, as the ſixth does the Government of *Pennſylvania*; with whom you are linked in a cloſe and firm Union. In whatever Part the Belt is broke, all the Wampum runs off, and renders the Whole of no Strength or Conſiſtency. In like Manner, ſhould you break Faith with one another, or with this Government, the Union is diſſolved. We would therefore hereby place before you the Neceſſity of preſerving your Faith entire to one another, as well as to this Government. Do not ſeparate: Do not part on any Score. Let no Differences nor Jealouſies ſubſiſt a Moment between Nation and Nation; but join all together as one Man, ſincerely and heartily. We on our Part ſhall always perform our Engagements to every one of you. In Teſtimony whereof, we preſent you with this Belt.

Here the Belt was given.

Brethren,

We have only this one Thing further to ſay at this Time: Whatever Anſwers you may have to give, or Buſineſs to tranſact with us, we deſire you would uſe Diſpatch; as it may be dangerous to you, and incommodious to us, to be kept long from our Homes, at this Seaſon of the Year.

At a Meeting of the Commiſſioners, and Indians, *the* 3*d of* October, 1753.

PRESENT,

The Commiſſioners, The ſame *Indians* as before.

Several Gentlemen of the County.

Scarrooyady, Speaker.

Brother Onas,

WHAT we have now to ſay, I am going to ſpeak, in Behalf of the *Twightwees*, *Shawoneſe*, *Delawares* and *Owendaets*.

You have, like a true and affectionate Brother, comforted us in our Affliction. You have wiped away the Blood from our Seats, and ſet them again in order. You have wrapped up the Bones of our Warriors, and covered the Graves of our wiſe Men; and wiped the Tears from our Eyes, and the Eyes of our Women and Children: So that we now ſee the Sun, and all Things are become pleaſant to our Sight. We ſhall not fail to acquaint our ſeveral Nations with your Kindneſs. We ſhall take Care that it be always remembered by us; and believe it will be attended with ſuitable Returns of Love and Affection.

Then one of the Twightwees *ſtood up, and ſpoke as follows:* (Scarrooyady *Interpreter.*)

Brother Onas,

The *Outawas*, *Cheepaways*, and the *French*, have ſtruck us.---The Stroke was heavy, and hard to be borne, for thereby we loſt our King, and ſeveral of our Warriors; but the Loſs our Brethren, the *Engliſh*, ſuffered, we grieve for moſt. The Love we have had for the *Engliſh*, from our firſt Knowledge of them, ſtill continues in our Breaſts; and we ſhall ever retain the ſame ardent Affection for them.---We cover the Graves of the *Engliſh* with this Beaver Blanket. We mourn for them more than for our own People.

Here he ſpread on the Floor ſome Beaver Skins, ſewed together in the Form of a large Blanket.

Then Scarrooyady *ſpoke as follows:*

Brother Onas,

I speak now on Behalf of all the *Indians* preſent, in Anſwer to what you ſaid when you gave us the Goods and Belt. What you have ſaid to us Yeſterday is very kind, and pleaſes us exceedingly. The Speech which accompanied the Belt, is particularly of great Moment. We will take the Belt home to *Ohio*, where there is a greater and wiſer Council than us, and conſider it, and return you a full Anſwer. We return you Thanks for the Preſent.

Gave a String.

Brother Onas,

Last Spring, when you heard of the March of the *French* Army, you were ſo good as to ſend us Word, that we might be on our Guard: We thank you for this friendly Notice.

Brother Onas,

Your People not only trade with us in our Towns, but diſperſe themſelves over a large and wide extended Country, in which reſide many Nations: At one End live the *Twightwees*, and at the other End

1753. End the *Caghnawagas*, and *Adirondacks*; theſe you muſt comprehend in your Chain of Friendſhip; they are, and will be, your Brethren, let *Onontio* ſay what he will.

Gave a String.

Brother Onas,

I DESIRE you would hear and take Notice of what I am about to ſay now. The Governor of *Virginia* deſired Leave to build a ſtrong Houſe on *Ohio*, which came to the Ears of the Governor of *Canada*; and we ſuppoſe this cauſed him to invade our Country. We do not know his Intent; becauſe he ſpeaks with two Tongues. So ſoon as we know his Heart, we ſhall be able to know what to do; and ſhall ſpeak accordingly to him. We deſire that *Pennſylvania* and *Virginia* would at preſent forbear ſettling on our Lands, over the *Allegheny* Hills. We adviſe you rather to call your People back on this Side the Hills, leſt Damage ſhould be done, and you think ill of us. But to keep up our Correſpondence with our Brother *Onas*, we will appoint ſome Place on the Hills, or near them; and we do appoint *George Croghan*, on our Part, and deſire you to appoint another on your Part, by a formal Writing, under the Governor's Hand. Let none of your People ſettle beyond where they are now; nor on the *Juniata* Lands, till the Affair is ſettled between us and the *French*. At preſent, *George Croghan*'s Houſe, at *Juniata*, may be the Place where any Thing may be ſent to us. We deſire a Commiſſion may be given to the Perſon intruſted by the Government of *Pennſylvania*; and that he may be directed to warn People from ſettling the *Indians* Lands, and impowered to remove them.

Gave a Belt and String.

Brother Onas,

ALL we who are here deſire you will hear what we are going to ſay, and regard it as a Matter of Moment: The *French* look on the great Number of your Traders at *Ohio* with Envy; they fear they ſhall loſe their Trade. You have more Traders than are neceſſary; and they ſpread themſelves over our wide Country, at ſuch great Diſtances, that we cannot ſee them, or protect them. We deſire you will call back the great Number of your Traders, and let only three Setts of Traders remain; and order theſe to ſtay in three Places, which we have appointed for their Reſidence, *viz. Logs-Town*, the Mouth of *Canawa*, and the Mouth of *Mohongely*; the *Indians* will then come to them, and buy their Goods in theſe Places, and no where elſe. We ſhall likewiſe look on them under our Care, and ſhall be accountable for them. We have ſettled this Point with *Virginia* in the ſame Manner.

Gave a String.

Brother Onas,

THE *Engliſh* Goods are ſold at too dear a Rate to us. If only honeſt and ſober Men were to deal with us, we think they might afford the Goods cheaper: We deſire therefore, that you will take effectual Care hereafter, that none but ſuch be ſuffered to come out to trade with us.

Gave a String.

Brother Onas,

YOUR Traders now bring ſcarce any Thing but Rum and Flour: They bring little Powder and Lead, or other valuable Goods. The Rum ruins us. We beg you would prevent its coming in ſuch Quantities, by regulating the Traders. We never underſtood the Trade was to be for Whiſkey and Flour. We deſire it may be forbidden, and none ſold in the *Indian* Country; but that if the *Indians* will have any, they may go among the Inhabitants, and deal with them for it. When theſe Whiſkey Traders come, they bring thirty or forty Cags, and put them down before us, and make us drink; and get all the Skins that ſhould go to pay the Debts we have contracted for Goods bought of the Fair Traders; and by this Means, we not only ruin ourſelves, but them too. Theſe wicked Whiſkey Sellers, when they have once got the *Indians* in Liquor, make them ſell their very Clothes from their Backs.---In ſhort, if this Practice be continued, we muſt be inevitably ruined: We moſt earneſtly therefore beſeech you to remedy it.

A treble String.

Brother Onas,

I HAVE now done with generals; but have ſomething to ſay for particular Nations.

THE *Shawoneſe* heard ſome News ſince they came here, which troubled their Minds; on which they addreſſed themſelves to their Grandfathers, the *Delawares*; and ſaid, Grandfathers, we will live and die with you, and the *Six Nations:* We, our Wives and Children; and Children yet unborn.

N. B. *This was occaſioned by* Conrad Weiſer's *having told them in private Converſation, that while he was in the* Mohock *Country, he was informed, that the* French *intended to drive away the* Shawoneſe *(as well as the* Engliſh) *from* Ohio.

SCARROOYADY then proceeded, and ſaid, I have ſomething farther to ſay on Behalf of the *Shawoneſe*.

Brother Onas,

AT the Beginning of the Summer, when the News was brought to us, of the Approach of the *French*, the *Shawoneſe* made this Speech to their Uncles, the *Delawares*, ſaying, "Uncles, you have often told us, that we were a ſenſible and diſcreet People; but we loſt all our Senſe and Wits, when we ſlipp'd out of your Arms; however, we are now in one another's Arms again, and hope we ſhall ſlip out no more. We remember, and are returned to our former Friendſhip, and hope it will always continue. In Teſtimony whereof, we give you, our Uncles, a String of ten Rows."

THE *Shawoneſe* likewiſe, at the ſame time, ſent a Speech to the *Six Nations*, ſaying, "Our Brethren, the *Engliſh*, have treated us as People that had Wit: The *French* deceived us: But we now turn our Heads about, and are looking perpetually to the Country of the *Six Nations*, and our Brethren, the *Engliſh*, and deſire you to make an Apology for us; and they gave eight Strings of Wampum."

The

The *Delawares* and *Six Nations* do therefore give up theſe Strings to *Onas*, and recommend the *Shawoneſe* to him as a People who have ſeen their Error, and are their and our very good Friends. 1753.

Gave eight Strings.

Brother Onas,

Before I finiſh, I muſt tell you, we all earneſtly requeſt you will pleaſe to lay all our preſent Tranſactions before the Council of *Onondago*, that they may know we do nothing in the Dark. They may perhaps think of us, as if we did not know what we were doing; or wanted to conceal from them what we do with our Brethren; but it is otherwiſe; and therefore make them acquainted with all our Proceedings: This is what we have likewiſe deſired of the *Virginians* when we treated with them at *Winchester*.

Brother Onas,

I forgot ſomething which I muſt now ſay to you; it is to deſire you would aſſiſt us with ſome Horſes to carry our Goods; becauſe you have given us more than we can carry ourſelves. Our Women and young People preſent you with this Bundle of Skins, deſiring ſome Spirits to make them chearful in their own Country; not to drink here.

Preſented a Bundle of Skins.

Then he added:

The *Twightwees* intended to ſay ſomething to you; but they have miſlaid ſome Strings, which has put their Speeches into Diſorder; theſe they will rectify, and ſpeak to you in the Afternoon.

Then the Indians *withdrew.*

At a Meeting of the Commiſſioners and Indians *the 3d of* October, 1753. P. M.

P R E S E N T,

The Commiſſioners, The ſame *Indians* as before.

The Magiſtrates, and ſeveral Gentlemen of the County.

The Twightwees *ſpeak by* Andrew Montour.

Brother Onas,

HEARKEN what I have to ſay to the *Six Nations*, *Delawares*, *Shawoneſe*, and *Engliſh*.

The *French* have ſtruck us; but tho' we have been hurt, it is but on one Side; the other Side is ſafe. Our Arm on that Side is entire, and with it we laid hold on our Pipe and have brought it along with us, to ſhew you it is as good as ever: And we ſhall leave it with you, that it may be always ready for us and our Brethren to ſmoak in when we meet together.

Here he delivered over the Calumet, decorated with fine Feathers.

Brother Onas,

We have a ſingle Heart. We have but one Heart. Our Heart is green, and good, and ſound: This Shell, painted green on its hollow Side, is a Reſemblance of it.

The Country beyond us, towards the Setting of the Sun, where the *French* live, is all in Darkneſs; we can ſee no Light there: But towards Sun-riſing, where the *Engliſh* live, we ſee Light; and that is the Way we turn our Faces. Conſider us as your faſt Friends, and good Brethren.

Here he delivered a large Shell, painted green on the Concave-ſide, with a String of Wampum tied to it.

Brother Onas,

This Belt of Wampum was formerly given to the King of the *Piankaſhas*, one of our Tribes, by the *Six Nations*; that if at any Time any of our People ſhould be killed, or any Attack made on them by their Enemies, this Belt ſhould be ſent with the News, and the *Six Nations* would believe it.

The *Twightwees*, when they brought this Belt to the Lower *Shawoneſe* Town, addreſſed themſelves to the *Shawoneſe*, *Six Nations*, *Delawares*, and then to the *Engliſh*, and ſaid;

Brethren,

We are an unhappy People: We have had ſome of our Brethren, the *Engliſh*, killed and taken Priſoners in our Towns. Perhaps our Brethren, the *Engliſh*, may think, or be told, that we were the Cauſe of their Death: We therefore apply to you the *Shawoneſe*, &c. to aſſure the *Engliſh* we were not. The Attack was ſo ſudden, that it was not in our Power to ſave them. And we hope, when you deliver this Speech to the *Engliſh*, they will not be prejudiced againſt us, but look on us as their Brethren: Our Hearts are good towards them.

A large Belt of fourteen Rows.

Brethren,

One of our Kings, on his Death-bed, delivered to his Son, the young Boy who ſits next to me, theſe eight Strings of Wampum, and told him, Child, "I am in Friendſhip with the *Shawoneſe*, *Delawares*, *Six Nations*, and *Engliſh*; and I deſire you, if by any Misfortune I ſhould happen to die, or be killed by my Enemies, you would ſend this String to them, and they will receive you in Friendſhip in my Stead.

Delivers the Strings.

1753. THE following is a Speech of the Wife of the *Piankaſha* King, after her Huſband's Death, addreſſed to the *Shawoneſe*, *Six Nations*, *Delawares*, and *Engliſh*: "Remember, Brethren, that my Huſband took a faſt Hold of the Chain of Friendſhip ſubſiſting between your Nations: Therefore I now deliver up his Child into your Care and Protection, and deſire you would take Care of him; and remember the Alliance his Father was in with you, and not forget his Friendſhip, but continue kind to his Child."

Gave four Strings black and white.

Brethren, Shawoneſe, Delawares, Six Nations, *and* Engliſh,

WE acquaint all our Brethren, that we have prepared this Beaver Blanket as a Seat for all our Brethren to ſit on in Council. In the Middle of it we have painted a green Circle, which is the Colour and Reſemblance of our Hearts; which we deſire our Brethren may believe are ſincere towards our Alliance with them.

Delivered a Beaver Blanket.

Then Scarrooyady *ſtood up and ſaid:*

Brother Onas,

THE *Shawoneſe* and *Delawares* delivered this Speech to the *Six Nations*, and deſired they would deliver it to the *Engliſh*; and now I deliver it on their Behalf.

Brethren,

WE acquaint you, that as the Wife of the *Piankaſha* King delivered his Child to all the Nations, to be taken Care of, they deſire that thoſe Nations may be interceeded with, to take Care that the ſaid Child may be placed in his Father's Seat, when he comes to be a Man, to rule their People. And the *Six Nations* now, in Behalf of the Whole, requeſt, that this Petition may not be forgot by the *Engliſh*, but that they would ſee the Requeſt fulfilled.

Gave four Strings.

THEN *Scarrooyady* deſired the *Six Nations* Council might be made acquainted with all theſe Speeches: And added, that they had no more to ſay; but what they have ſaid is from their Hearts.

At a Meeting of the Commiſſioners, and Indians, *the 4th of* October, 1753.

PRESENT,

The Commiſſioners,
The ſame *Indians* as before.
The Gentlemen of the County.

The Commiſſioners, unwilling to loſe any Time, prepared their Anſwers early this Morning, and ſent for the Indians; *who having ſeated themſelves, the following Speech was made to them:*

Brethren, Six Nations, Delawares, Shawoneſe, Twightwees, *and* Owendaets,

THE ſeveral Matters delivered by you Yeſterday have been well conſidered; and we are now going to return you our Anſwers.

THE Concern expreſſed by the *Twightwees* for the Death and Impriſonment of the *Engliſh*, with their Profeſſions of Love and Eſteem, denotes a ſincere and friendly Diſpoſition, which entitles them to our Thanks, and the Continuance of our Friendſhip; this they may certainly depend on.

Brethren,

You have recommended to us the ſeveral Nations, who, you ſay, live in that great Extent of Country, over which our Traders travel to diſpoſe of their Goods, and eſpecially the *Twightwees*, *Adirondacks*, and *Caghnawagas*, who you ſay live at different Extremities, and have good Inclinations towards the *Engliſh*.---We believe you would not give them this Character unleſs they deſerved it. Your Recommendations always will have a Weight with us, and will diſpoſe us in Favour of them, agreeable to your Requeſt.

Brethren,

THE ſeveral Articles which contain your Obſervations on the *Indian* Traders, and the looſe ſtraggling Manner in which that Trade is carried on, thro' Countries lying at great Diſtances from your Towns---Your Propoſals to remedy this, by having named three Places for the Traders to reſide in, under your Care and Protection, with a Requeſt, that the Province would appoint the particular Perſons to be concerned in this Trade, for whom they will be anſwerable---What you ſay about the vaſt Quantities of Rum, and its ill Effects, and that no more may be brought amongſt you; all theſe have made a very ſtrong Impreſſion upon our Minds; and was it now in our Power to rectify theſe Diſorders, and to put Matters on the Footing you propoſe, we would do it with great Pleaſure: But theſe are Affairs which more immediately concern the Government; in theſe therefore, we ſhall imitate your Example, by laying them before the Governor, aſſuring you, that our heartieſt Repreſentations of the Neceſſity of theſe Regulations ſhall not be wanting, being convinced, that unleſs ſomething effectual be

ſpeedily

ſpeedily done in theſe Matters, the good People of this Province can no longer expect Safety or Profit in their Commerce, nor the Continuance of your Affection. 1753.

Brethren,
We will ſend an Account to *Onondago* of all that has been tranſacted between us.

We will aſſiſt you with Horſes for the Carriage of the Goods given you.

We grant your Women and young Men their Requeſt for Rum, on Condition it be not delivered to them until you ſhall have paſſed the Mountains.

Scarrooyady ſome Days ago deſired us to give Orders for the Mending of your Guns, *&c.* and we did ſo; being obliged to ſend for a Gunſmith out of the Country, as no One of that Trade lived in the Town; who promiſed to come: But having broke his Word, it has not been in our Power to comply with this Requeſt.

Here the String given with the Requeſt was returned.

Having delivered our general Anſwer, we ſhall now proceed to give one to what was ſaid by particular Nations, as well by the *Shawoneſe* in the Forenoon, as by the *Twightwees* in the Afternoon.

Brethren, Delawares, *and* Shawoneſe,
We are glad to ſee you in ſuch good Diſpoſitions to each other. We entreat you to do every Thing you can to preſerve the Continuance of this agreeable Harmony. The *Shawoneſe* may be aſſured we retain no Manner of Remembrance of their former Miſcarriages: We are perfectly reconciled, and our Eſteem for their Nation is the ſame as ever.

Gave a large String.

Brethren, Twightwees,
We ſhall take your ſeveral Preſents, Shells, Strings, Beaver Blanket, and Calumet Pipe, with us, and deliver them to the Governor; that theſe, and the ſeveral Things ſaid at the Delivery of them, may remain in the Council Chamber, at *Philadelphia*, for our mutual Uſe and Remembrance, whenever it ſhall pleaſe the Great Being, who ſits above, to bring us together in Council again.

Gave a long String.

Brethren,
We deſire you will ſend theſe two Strouds to the young King, as an Acknowledgment of our affectionate Remembrance of his Father's Love to us, and of our Good-will to him.

Be pleaſed to preſent to the Widow of the *Piankaſha* King, our late hearty Friend, theſe Handkerchiefs, to wipe the Tears from her Eyes, and likewiſe give her Son theſe two Strouds to clothe him.

Here two Handkerchiefs and two Strouds were given.

Brethren Twightwees,
We aſſure you we entertain no hard Thoughts of you; nor in any wiſe impute to you the Misfortune that befel the *Engliſh* in your Town; it was the Chance of War: We were ſtruck together; we fell together; and we lament your Loſs equally with our own.

Brethren, Six Nations, Delawares, Shawoneſe, Twightwees, *and* Owendaets,
We have now finiſhed our Anſwers; and we hope they will be agreeable to you: Whatever we have ſaid, has been with a hearty Good-will towards you; our Hearts have accompanied our Profeſſions, and you will always find our Actions agreeable to them. Then the Commiſſioners were ſilent; and, after a Space of Time, renewed their Speeches to them.

Brethren, Six Nations, Delawares, Shawoneſe, Twightwees, *and* Owendaets,
We have ſomething to ſay to you, to which we entreat you will give your cloſeſt Attention, ſince it concerns both us and you very much.

Brethren,
We have held a Council on the preſent Situation of your Affairs. We have Reaſon to think, from the Advices of *Taaf* and *Callender*, that it would be too great a Riſque, conſidering the preſent Diſorder Things are in at *Ohio*, to encreaſe the Quantity of Goods already given you: We therefore acquaint you, that, though the Governor has furniſhed us with a larger Preſent of Goods, to put into your publick Store-houſe, as a general Stock, for your Support and Service, and we did intend to have ſent them along with you; we have, on this late diſagreeable Piece of News, altered our Minds, and determined, that the Goods ſhall not be delivered till the Governor be made acquainted with your preſent Circumſtances, and ſhall give his own Orders for the Diſpoſal of them. And that they may lie ready for your Uſe, to be applied for, whenever the Delivery may be ſafe, ſeaſonable, and likely to do you the moſt Service; we have committed them to the Care of your good Friend *George Croghan*, who is to tranſmit to the Governor, by Expreſs, a true and faithful Account how your Matters are likely to turn out; and on the Governor's Order, and not otherwiſe, to put you into the Poſſeſſion of them.

This we hope you will think a prudent Caution, and a Teſtimony of our Care for your real Good and Welfare.

Brethren,

D
= DePuy
31
62-131
Aug 1961
Wistar

1753. *Brethren,*

We have a Favour of a particular Nature to requeſt from your Speaker, *Scarrooyady*, in which we expect your Concurrence, and joint Intereſt; and therefore make it to him in your Preſence. Here the Commiſſioners applying to *Scarrooyady*, ſpoke as follows:

Reſpected Chief and Brother Scarrooyady,

We have been informed by *Andrew Montour*, and *George Croghan*, that you did at *Wincheſter*, in publick Council, undertake to go to *Carolina*, to ſollicit the Releaſe of ſome Warriors of the *Shawoneſe* Nation, who are ſaid to be detained in the publick Priſon of *Charles-Town*, on Account of ſome Miſchief committed by them, or their Companions, in the inhabited Part of that Province; and theſe two Perſons, who are your very good Friends, have given it as their Opinion, if, after you know what has paſſed at *Ohio*, you ſhall now leave this Company of *Indians*, and not return with them to their Families, and aſſiſt in the Conſultations with the *Half King*, and their other Chiefs, what Meaſures to take in this unhappy Situation of your Affairs, all may be irrecoverably loſt at *Allegheny*, and the Loſs with Juſtice be laid at your Door. You may, perhaps, be afraid to diſoblige the *Shawoneſe*, as it was at their Inſtance you undertook this Journey; but we intend to ſpeak to them, and have no Doubt of obtaining their Conſent; convinc'd as we are, that the Releaſe of theſe Priſoners will be ſooner and more effectually procur'd by the joint Interpoſition of the Governors of *Pennſylvania* and *Virginia*, than by your perſonal Sollicitation; in as much as our Governor, to whom we ſhall very heartily recommend this Affair, can ſend, with greater Diſpatch, his Letters to *Carolina*, than you can perform the Journey; for at this Seaſon, Opportunities preſent every Day of ſending by Sea to *Charles-Town*; and an Expreſs by Land may be diſpatched to Governor *Dunwiddie*, as ſoon as we return to *Philadelphia*.

Gave a String.

The *Shawoneſe* Chiefs expreſſing Diſſatisfaction at this Endeavour of the Commiſſioners to ſtop *Scarrooyady*, it gave us ſome Trouble to ſatisfy them, and obtain their Conſent; but at laſt it was effected; and when this was ſignified to *Scarrooyady*, he made this Anſwer.

Brother Onas,

I will take your Advice, and not go to *Virginia* at this Time,----but go Home, and do every Thing in my Power for the common Good. And ſince we are here now together, with a great deal of Pleaſure I muſt acquaint you, that we have ſet a Horn on *Andrew Montour*'s Head, and that you may believe what he ſays to be true, between the *Six Nations* and you, they have made him one of their Counſellors, and a great Man among them, and love him dearly.

Scarrooyady *gave a large Belt to* Andrew Montour, *and the Commiſſioners agreed to it.*

After this Difficulty was got over, nothing elſe remained to be done; and as the Abſence of theſe *Indians* was dangerous, the Commiſſioners put an End to the Treaty, and took their Leave of them, making private Preſents at parting, to ſuch of the Chiefs, and others, as were recommended by the Interpreters to their particular Notice.

Thus, may it pleaſe the Governor, we have given a full and juſt Account of all our Proceedings, and we hope our Conduct will meet with his Approbation. But, in Juſtice to theſe *Indians*, and the Promiſes we made them, we cannot cloſe our Report, without taking Notice, That the Quantities of ſtrong Liquors ſold to theſe *Indians* in the Places of their Reſidence, and during their Hunting Seaſons, from all Parts of the Counties over *Saſquehannah*, have encreaſed of late to an inconceivable Degree, ſo as to keep theſe poor *Indians* continually under the Force of Liquor, that they are hereby become diſſolute, enfeebled and indolent when ſober, and untractable and miſchievous in their Liquor, always quarrelling, and often murdering one another: That the Traders are under no Bonds, nor give any Security for their Obſervance of the Laws, and their good Behaviour; and by their own Intemperance, unfair Dealings, and Irregularities, will, it is to be feared, entirely eſtrange the Affections of the *Indians* from the *Engliſh*; deprive them of their natural Strength and Activity, and oblige them either to abandon their Country, or ſubmit to any Terms, be they ever ſo unreaſonable, from the *French*. Theſe Truths, may it pleaſe the Governor, are of ſo intereſting a Nature, that we ſhall ſtand excuſed in recommending in the moſt earneſt Manner, the deplorable State of theſe *Indians*, and the heavy Diſcouragements under which our Commerce with them at preſent labours, to the Governor's moſt ſerious Conſideration, that ſome good and ſpeedy Remedies may be provided, before it be too late.

RICHARD PETERS,

November 1, 1753. *ISAAC NORRIS,*

BENJ. FRANKLIN.